NATIONAL
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SUMMIT CRISIS EASES, BUT . . .

The turmoil grows in lands harboring risky U.S. bases

By Kumar Goshal

EAST-WEST TENSIONS eased somewhat after President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev reported to their respective nations on the summit fiasco, and the UN Security Council concluded its hearing on Moscow's charges of U.S. violation of Soviet air space. At the same time, the easing of tensions also spotlighted the lack of leadership in Washington and the turmoil created by U.S. military bases on foreign soil.

Eisenhower on May 25 and Khrushchev on May 28 pledged continuing efforts toward mutual understanding. The President said: "We must continue businesslike dealing with Soviet leaders on outstanding issues, and improve the contacts between our own and the Soviet peoples."

The Soviet Premier conceded that he still believed "the President himself now, too, wants peace," but added that "men who hamper the realization of peaceable intentions loom behind his back." Khrushchev said:

"We have always wanted and want now relaxation of international tensions and we have been working and will continue to work in this direction despite the breakdown of the Summit conference."

ACTION AT THE UN: This constructive approach was to some extent evident also at the UN. The Security Council rejected the Soviet proposal to condemn U.S. air aggression, but approved on May 27 a four-power (Argentina, Ceylon, Ecuador, Tunisia) compromise resolution, with the Soviet Union and Poland abstaining.

The four-power resolution urged resumption of East-West negotiations and continuation of efforts toward a nuclear test ban agreement and disarmament; it appealed to all UN members "to re-

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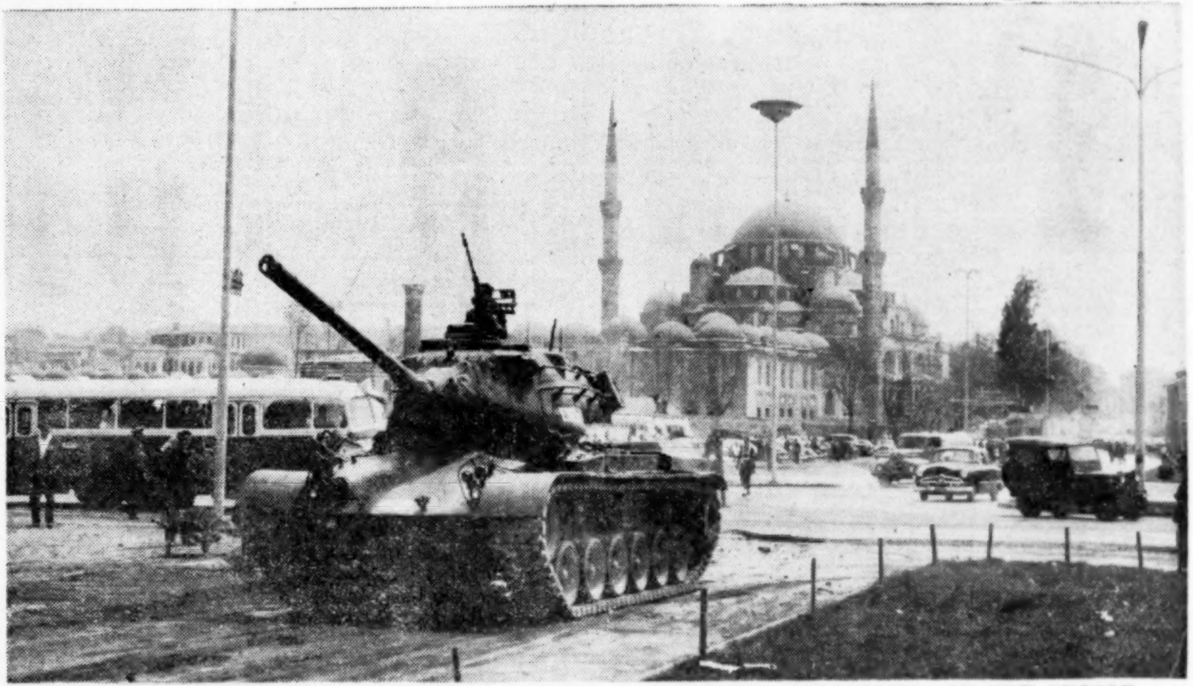
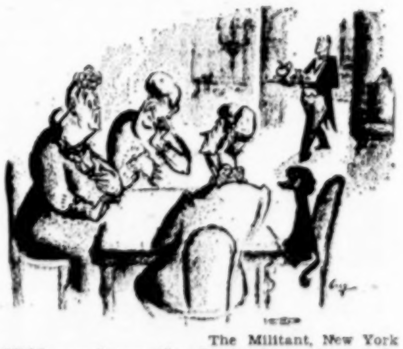


TURKEY: THE ARMORED TANKS HAVE TURNED AGAINST THE OPPRESSORS OF THE PEOPLE

Premier Menderes has been deposed and the dissenters have been let out of jail. In Istanbul and in other great cities of the so-called free world, the real patriots insist on real freedom within their own borders.



The Militant, New York

"Did you know the State Department is honeycombed with French fellow-travelers? That's how de Gaulle stole our atom bomb secret . . ."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH HEADS NEW GROUP

Council formed to oppose jimcrow in labor

By Robert E. Light
Guardian staff correspondent

DETROIT

THERE IS a "civil rights revolution now surging throughout the country," A. Philip Randolph told the founding convention of the Negro American Labor Council in Detroit on May 28. The revolution, he said, is to complete the work of the "Civil War revolution" which did not set the Negro fully free because "the industrial and financial rulers of the North considered it unnecessary since the Union had been saved."

For the Negro worker, the unfinished revolution has meant second-class status on the job and exclusion from some jobs. Even where he has been able to join unions, the Negro does not always share equally in the benefits. Many AFL craft unions were notorious for excluding Negroes or accepting them in segregated locals with limited job opportunities. The CIO had a somewhat better record. Since the federations merged, the Negro's voice in top labor councils is seldom heard and discriminatory practices continue.

Negroes have watched the AFL-CIO engage in holy wars against "communism" and "corruption," to the point of expelling 2,000,000 members. But they have waited in vain for similar energy expended against unions which limit Negroes's rights.

'THE CHIEF': When the AFL-CIO convention last September failed to act against offending unions, Negro unionists decided they would have to do it themselves. A rallying figure for a national Negro labor council was to be 71-year-old Randolph, who has led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters since 1925. Among Negro unionists he is known as "The Chief" or "The Eagle."

After months of preparation, the founding convention was called for Decoration Day weekend in Detroit. About 750 delegates and observers came from across the country. Many paid their own way; others passed the hat.

In a keynote speech Randolph outlined the evils the new council would have to fight:

- Exclusion of Negroes from unions, through constitutional provision or tacit consent.
- Jimcrow locals, particularly in the South, although many exist also in the North.
- Racial barriers to apprenticeship training which limit Negroes' opportunity to learn skilled trades. (On May 27 the New York State Commisslion Against Discrimination reported that only 2% of New York's registered apprentices are Negroes.)
- "Occupational folklore of black men's and white men's job."
- Discrimination in hiring, firing and promotion—"the first hired and the last fired."
- Inadequate representation in union conventions and on policy-making bodies.

DEMOCRACY ABSENT: The delegates came ready to take up the fight—"This

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15,000 OLDSTERS BACK FORAND BILL AT NEW YORK RALLY

Congress is quietly scuttling medical care for aged

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

MEDICAL CARE for the aged, either in the form of the Forand social security bill or the administration scheme for subsidies to private insurance companies, is being quietly throttled in Congress. The House Ways and Means Committee has voted against both approaches. The committee is also refusing to make any general improvements in the benefits of old age pensions.

Public pressure for medical care to the aged has been greater than on any other issue of social legislation in many years. Letters and petitions have been pouring into Congressional offices. Sections of the AFL-CIO have joined with old-age organizations to mobilize support for the Forand bill (HR. 4700).

On May 18 in New York City 15,000 old folks, many of them blind and disabled, met in Madison Square Garden to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of Social Security and demand that Congress pass the Forand Bill. The rally was organized by a number of AFL-CIO unions, especially David Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the labor-sponsored Council of Golden Ring Clubs.

REMINDER OF '30's: The enthusiasm and militancy of the huge audience showed the political power of the social security issue. Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) had to appeal to its sense of fair play for a chance to present his and the Administration's alternative to the effective and understandable Forand bill. Heroes of the meeting were Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose picture was flashed repeatedly on a movie screen and whose words and voice were broadcast, and Congressman Aime Forand (D-R.I.), who spoke for his bill.

There was a nostalgic air about the meeting with its throwback to the initial passage of the Social Security Act in 1935. FDR's Secy. of Labor, Madam

(Continued on Page 10)

THE MAIL BAG

There is still time

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Here are excerpts of a letter to our President:

"How ludicrous can a serious situation become? We act indignant and justified when one of our planes is captured over the center of Russia. One needs hardly have a vivid imagination to visualize the uproar that would be caused had the situation been reversed.

"Even realizing the seriousness of these times and the difficulties that face you and our officials in these troubled times, I find it difficult to understand how a country as rich in material and knowledge as the United States can continuously make such a poor showing in almost every important area in world politics.

"American mothers, as do all people, look to you for sane and peaceful solutions. I pray it is not too late."

Rosalie Snow

A pretext

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

The worst feature of the secret flights over Russia is not that they have taken place, but that the Administration blamed Russia for the series of incidents arising from them. In so doing, the Administration has used the incidents as a pretext to step up the Cold War, and in so doing has deceived the people of this country and overseas.

Max A. McDowall

Word to the wise?

ERWIN, TENN.

The same month the spy plane was caught in the U.S.S.R., our local P.O. began using a cancellation stamp saying "Pray for Peace."

Good advice!

Ernest Seeman

No birdie

CHICAGO, ILL.

Eisenhower's golf experience must have stood him in good stead in the spy plane controversy. He was faced with an unplayable lie.

Lyman Elefson

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

An open letter to **YOU.**

THE SUMMIT HAS FAILED. WHAT DOES THIS MEAN TO YOU? Tremendous Upsurge in Electronics. Billion Dollar Payroll—11,000 Employee Industry in So. Calif. Booming! MANY NEW CONTRACTS ANTICIPATED!

—from a Nat'l Technical Schools ad in the L.A. Mirror **News**, May 21.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: G.F., Los Angeles, Calif.

Follow the leader

BREEZY BANKS, N.C.

Children, we are playing a little game. It is called "Follow the Leader." Our leader is Eisenhower.

Eisenhower jumps into a pot of boiling water. Now, we aren't to be outdone by our leader. We all jump into pots of boiling water.

I was in a garage a few days ago where farm machinery was being repaired. The subject of the spy plane came up. Not a single man present supported the position of the United States. The mechanics, the farmers, the loggers, the owner of the garage —every one present—thought we had no right to send planes over Russia and we were asking for war.

These must be bad children. They do not want to play "Follow the Leader."

Vernon Ward

One loud meow

FOREST HILLS, N.Y.

I should like to protest vigorously against certain remarks made by Mr. Khrushchev in his Paris press conference.

He repeatedly compared warmongers and aggressors to cats. This is slander.

No cat has ever started a war; no cat has ever been willing to imperil the very existence of civilization for the sake of profits.

Cats are a persecuted and misunderstood minority. By attacking them, Mr. K has done great harm to the cause of peaceful coexistence.

Richard Koenig

The direct approach

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

I mailed Harry Truman a clipping of the "How Crazy Can You Get" from your May 23 issue in which his eulogy of Syngman Rhee won a sub for M.L.N. of Cleveland. You may be hearing from him as I advised him as follows:

"Dear Harry: You have demonstrated an ability to make this column again and again without half trying. Why let others get a subscription on your efforts? Mail a copy of your next press statement to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN and win a sub for yourself."

A. L. Harvey

The determining factor

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

When the open-shop anti-labor Los Angeles **Times** describes Fidel Castro as "a physical coward, a schemer, a double crosser, and a dedicated Communist," I know that the Cuban people have at last found a leader who is dedicated to their interests.

Harris Goldman

Power

KENOSHA, WIS.

I am sure I could never get along without the excellent GUARDIAN. More power to you!

Karin Ostrom

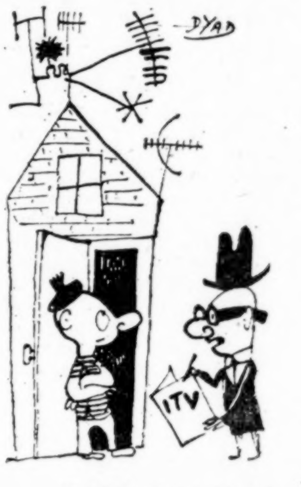
The pleasure is ours

CHICAGO, ILL.

It is with great pleasure that we renew this subscription.

Just keep the news coming.

J. & S. Beacher



Dyad, London Daily Worker

"D'you prefer crime in our TV serials or murders in our news?"

Bikini beef

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I was disappointed to find in the May 16 issue of the otherwise enlightened NATIONAL GUARDIAN, a recognition of the commercial value of male dominance in our society. I am referring to the picture of an attractive young woman in a tiger-skin bikini swimsuit, appearing on one of the travel pages. The picture obviously is to gain the attention of male readers, for the purpose of convincing them to, first, read about travel, and, second, spend their money on travel. Now, travel is an excellent activity, and there is nothing wrong with the human body —but there **is** something wrong, it seems to me, in picturing woman in her role of passive sex-object and commercial **thing.**

Women and men should be admired as human beings with human bodies (and brains), of course, but as you know, for ages and ages women have been considered only as passive love-objects, from the early tribal member of a group of wives, and the Middle Ages woman chained to a pedestal by the "chivalry" of "courtly love," to the modern woman who must imitate, as best she can, the Hollywood ideal of beauty.

The role of women, up to the present time, thus has been to please men (the active members of society) by their passive sexuality, and bodily and mental subjugation. There have been very few people to champion women as active, doing, thinking human beings. I hope the GUARDIAN does not condone the commercial exploitation of attractive young women any more than it condones the subjugation of, as Mill put it, "the unattractive majority."

(Mrs.) Marie Bristol

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE WEAPONS OF TYRANNY are many, and foremost amongst them is the current lie that those who oppose the policies of men now in office are disloyal to America. If we cloud our reasoning by mumbling that the tyranny of other governments requires the same of our own, then we will damn our own future. We have no command over the varying histories of other lands, over their internal development, the character and culture of their people. And we will be fools if we abandon any of our own liberties for any reason.

We will live in the world we make. If we bow before new onslaughts by the Committee on Un-American Activities, then we will live in **that** world. And although that world may bear down most heavily at first upon certain individuals, ten, a hundred or a thousand—nevertheless if there are any decent people who think they can live well within that world, they are mistaken.

We will live also in the universal community we make. If we go along with those who hunger to punish the Russians for their socialist ways, which some citizens abhor, by dropping hydrogen bombs on Moscow and other Russian cities, then we will learn on our own flesh the hideous consequences of allowing others to decide our fate. If we are too frightened of our public servants to demand of them that they meet the world's problems without recourse to war, then we will suffer the consequences of our fears when we cower in bomb shelters.

These are not easy times. But there have been times no less difficult or threatening in the history of our nation and the world. This is a time when men and women of principle and courage and a true instinct for self-preservation must come forward. I think they will come forward.

—From a speech by Albert Maltz, one of the Hollywood Ten, printed in the National Guardian, June 7, 1950.

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Vol. 12, No. 34 401 June 6, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

From Sask. to Phila.

MIND IF WE TAKE A CRISIS BREATHER and do a little horn blowing? We got a couple of reports **from** readers this last week which we'd like to share with you and draw a small moral.

The first came from Saskatchewan, north of the border, and it dates back to a trip that Harvey and Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, a couple of U.S. and A. citizens without peer, took up there late in February. Harvey wrote us about the trip and said: "Do you want an article?" After reading his brief report we replied in a word: "Yes."

The article appeared in the March 25 GUARDIAN under the heading: "The most complete welfare state in North America: People are first in Saskatchewan." It told of the progress being made by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation government ("kind of socialistic and proud of it"). It also mentioned a free 76-page pamphlet called, appropriately enough, **Progress.**

Last week from Regina we got a letter from the folks in the publicity department who had been totting up some figures. It seems that within a month after the O'Connor article appeared, well over 400 requests for the pamphlet had been received from GUARDIAN readers in 37 states and the District of Columbia and four Canadian provinces. And the requests kept coming in. More than 30 people asked for extra copies to send to friends and one union member asked for 100 copies to give to fellow members. More than 30 said they were coming for a vacation in 1960-61 and a dozen asked about opportunities to settle in the province, in business, farm, teaching or trades. Several young people asked about schools.

The comments: "I wish Tommy Douglas [Saskatchewan's premier] were top dog in our White House.". . ."A breath of fresh air in this atmosphere of hypocrisy". . ."I only wish we had a party like the CCF here in the U.S." and lots more like these.

ONE DAY LATER, FROM PHILADELPHIA, we got a letter which began thus: "Close to 100 people were present at an evening arranged by the Philadelphia Friends of the Guardian on the subject 'Struggle for Equality—1960'. This despite the rain and the fact that the Russian Georgian Dancers were in town. Not too bad, though our March meeting with John T. McManus brought out well over that figure."

Not bad indeed—and John T. would be the first to concede that his leap is worse than a Georgian's flight. The Socialist Youth Union Group Chorus sang, and because the Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, who was chairman, is a prompt man, some stragglers missed the songs of struggle. An 11-year-old Negro school girl recited from memory her own poem called "Segregation." Her name is Elva Fleming.

Gabriel Ackah, a former student from Ghana, dressed in native costume, gave a vivid account of Africa's desire for freedom. The Rev. William Howard Melish reported on his recent trip through the South and on the heroism of the young students. Robert C. Queen, editor of the Philadelphia **Courier,** leading Negro newspaper, spoke of the role of the big press in distorting news of Negroes and twisting the facts to make Negroes out to be primary among criminal elements.

There was discussion and resolutions on South Africa and on the sit-ins and, closer to home, one calling on the mayor of Philadelphia to deal with pressing local problems.

BOTH REPORTS PLEASED AND MOVED US immensely. We knew we had in our corner the readingest and most responsive folks in the world, but the Saskatchewan report outdid even our best hopes. And the Philadelphia story was the story of a really stirring evening which we wish we had been able to share in person.

Well, what about that moral? The moral is that the GUARDIAN family and friends comprise the greatest people on both sides of the border, and we cherish them all. If readers in cities other than Philadelphia would assemble their own Friends of the Guardian groups, the tribe would increase, and our friends up in Saskatchewan (and other places) would get not hundreds but thousands of requests for pamphlets; and perhaps some of the provinces south of the Canadian border then might be able soon to report governments which were "kind of socialistic and proud of it."

—THE GUARDIAN

P.S. Interested Philadelphians are urged to contact the group's chairman, Richard Meredith, 403 E. Sharpnack St., VI 8-3208.

U. OF C. FACULTY MEMBERS URGE PROBE OF POLICE

San Francisco aftermath: 69 'rioters' waive jury trials

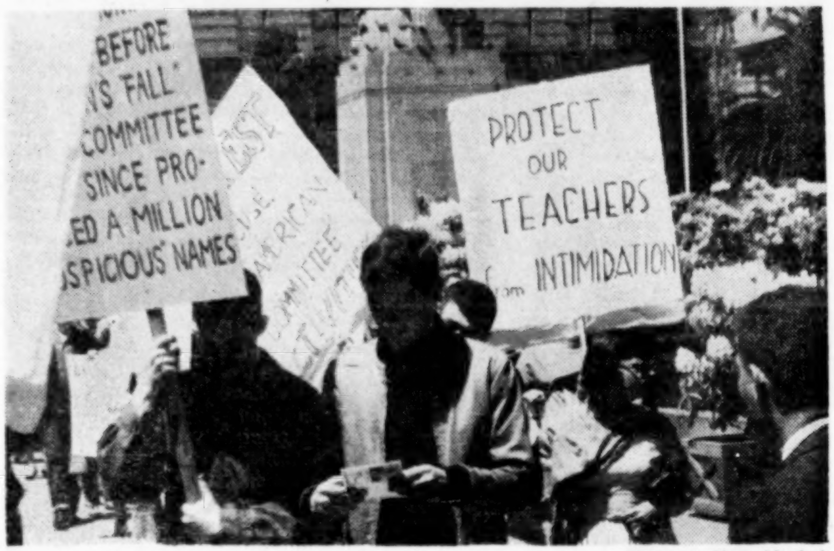


Photo by Steve Murdock

SAN FRANCISCO STUDENTS PROTEST UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE
This peaceful march preceded the police violence of Friday the 13th

SAN FRANCISCO is still quaking from the eruptions at the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings May 12-14. Many are still shocked by the riot in which police hosed and clubbed hundreds, mostly students, who tried to get into the hearing room at City Hall. Most of the city's newspapers and leading citizens at first blamed the riot on the students. But as eye-witness accounts came in, many came to realize that the committee and the police were to balme.

During the riot 69 persons were arrested on misdemeanor charges, picked up at random at City Hall. On May 25, all pleaded not guilty before Municipal Judge Lenore D. Underwood. All accepted an offer to be tried by a judge on the basis of police reports, which means no sworn testimony will be taken. They signed statements releasing the police of "civil liability."

On the same day 65 faculty members at the U. of California at Berkeley sent a letter to State Atty. Gen. Stanley Mosk calling for an "impartial inquiry" into police activity during the riot. Eighty-four faculty members at Stanford U. had previously indicated support for the arrested students. The Graduate Psychology Assn., representing students at Berkeley, called on Gov. Brown for an investigation.

STUDENTS THANKED: The executive council of the Calif. Fedn. of Teachers, AFL-CIO, thanked the students for "their dedication and for the courage to protest, even in the face of brutal and unjustifiable coercion and arrest." The council said it would raise funds for the students' defense. A group of Bay Area college teachers and the Student Civil Liberties Union at the U. of California are also raising funds.

Of the witnesses who defied the committee, six teachers, a salesman and a worker have lost their jobs. The teachers' union and the California Teachers Assn. are fighting the firings.

Other witnesses returned to work as heroes. A warehouseman found his shopmates lined up in salute. A brewery worker was playfully nicknamed "Khrushchev" by his co-workers but met no hostility.

The wife of a teacher was called by a woman who asked: "Will my children be safe with a man like your husband as teacher?"

"Are you a Communist?" the wife asked.

"What?"

"Are you a Communist?"

"Of course not."

"Prove it."

The teacher's wife invited the caller for a visit. After several hours the woman was convinced of the committee's un-American behavior and later spread the word in the neighborhood.

CAMPUSES BITTER: William M. Mandel, who denounced the committee roundly at the hearings, has been flooded with congratulatory letters. His radio and TV programs were unaffected, but the stations received many letters in Mandel's behalf.

On the campuses students are bitter against the committee and the police. Archie Brown, a longshoreman who was thrown out of the hearings three times, has become a campus hero. Just after the hearings he was asked to speak at the U. of California. The Stanford student paper later also invited him to speak.

The most violent reactions were on the Berkeley campus where much of the protest originated. The student paper, **Daily Californian,** reported that on the picket line the day after the riot, one student said: "I was brought up to respect the police but I wouldn't say 'sir' to one of these guys if my life depended on it."

WHAT THEY SAY: Below are some of the comments that have appeared in the **Daily Californian** since the riot::

"I believe the House Un-American Activities Committee is doing an excellent job. They are being as Un-American as possible in all of their activities."

Paul Monroe, freshman.

"Well, San Francisco police and 'wiser' generation, you have taught but one lesson and not what you expected. You have taught us that we are right! We students will continue to fight your hypocritical world in an effort to correct your mistakes. We must inherit your messed up world and thank God we realize that action now will lessen the burden later."

Lloyd R. Free, sophomore.

"As an observer of the student demonstration against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I would like to congratulate them on their poise and good sense they displayed on Saturday. They conducted their picketing quietly and with dignity; they were a credit to the University and they deserve the support of faculty and students alike."

Thomas Parkinson, associate professor.

"SADISTIC MEN": Several letters by students and others who said they were at City Hall during the riot confirmed that police started the violence. One graduate student wrote:

"At no time did I see any student act toward a police officer in a manner that could conceivably be construed as aggressive. However, the students, who were unprepared for physical combat, found themselves the amazed and stunned recipients of a shower of blows, kicks and obscenities from a group of police officers, who can only be described as sadistic men posing as officers of the police.

"I hope that I never again witness faces contorted with such an admixture of pleasure and pain displayed by these 'special' riot police when they were engaged in dragging the female students by their feet down the marble stairs in such a manner as to cause their dresses to fly up over their heads."

ON THE RADIO: The first part of a two-part documentary on the San Francisco hearings will be heard in the New York area on FM station **WBAI** on June 21 at 9 p.m. The same station will broadcast Rep. James Roosevelt's speech in Congress calling for abolition of the committee on June 3 at 1:15 p.m.

The Committee is returning to Washington for an "investigation" of seamen beginning June 6.

N.Y. meeting June 3 on 'Calif. vs. Un-Americans'

FRANK WILKINSON, executive director of the Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, will give an eye-witness report of the San Francisco youth protest against the House Committee on Un-American Activities on Friday, June 3, at 8 p.m. at the Woodstock Hotel, 127 W. 43rd St., New York City. The program is sponsored by the Youth Against the Un-American Committee. Admission is 50c.

Guardian tour greeted in London

Photo by Balcombe

PAUL ROBESON greets members of the GUARDIAN tour of Europe and the Soviet Union on the first leg of their journey in London. Standing behind Robeson (in sweater) is Donald Ogden Stewart who, with his wife Ella Winter, was host to the travelers at a garden party at his home in Hampstead. Robeson and his wife Eslanda were guests of honor; he made an informal address of welcome and sang.

On a three-day whirl in London, the GUARDIAN group saw all the sights of the city and the surrounding country in chartered buses, with stops at Oxford and Stratford-on-Avon. On their last day in the city they were conducted through the Houses of Parliament by Konni Zilliacus, MP and GUARDIAN contributor, and had lunch at a Westminster pub with Zilliacus, MPs Harold Davies (who made a U.S. lecture tour last year), Fenner Brockway, head of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, and Viscount Stansgate, former Labor Minister who was chairman of the recent London meeting for Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. After lunch they attended a session of Commons as guests of Labor MPs.

At the garden party (above), which was the social highlight of their stay, other guests included novelist James Aldridge, Canon Stanley Evans of Southwark Cathedral, trade union leaders Harry Francis and Councilor Clive Jenkins, Councilor Jean Jenkins, British Peace Committee chairman Gordon Schaffer, and the South African union leader E. S. Sachs.

The GUARDIAN tour is being conducted by London County Councilor Peggy A. Middleton. In Stockholm the group was entertained at the home of Dr. John Takman, chief of child psychiatry for the Stockholm municipality. Similar highlights have been arranged for the group at all major stops.

Damn the torpedoes!
Join the Guardian Boat Ride!
Fri., June 17, 7 to 11 P.M.
with Pete Seeger

ONLY 25 Days to go in the Guardian Sub Contest!

AND THE LEADERS CAN BE OVERTAKEN! Imagine, by starting now and conducting a 25-day drive among your friends **YOU** could win the **Free Trip** to Cuba or one of the other fine prizes! Or, by just buying pre-paid sub blanks you could become a strong contender—and take the rest of the year to sell or give away the subs! Do yourself—and your favorite paper—a good turn by getting in the contest **now.** You've got until June 30, **and you can get your friends to help you win.**

For pre-paid sub blanks write

GUARDIAN CONTEST

197 E. 4th St. New York 9, N.Y.

Jimcrow in labor

(Continued from Page 1)

is what we have been waiting for." But if NALC is to lead the fight for its noble aims, it had a poor beginning. Delegates were handed a blueprint for a bureaucratic, top-heavy organization, designed to limit rank-and-file activity. And they were told to take it or leave it.

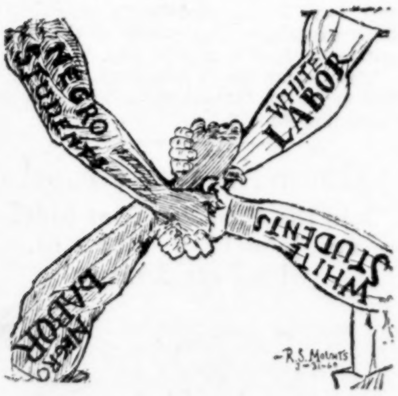
Democracy was a stranger at the convention. Delegates were expected only to give formal approval to what a tight group in the steering committee had decided in advance. Although many came to recount grievances, there was no opportunity for them to speak. Their advice on establishing the council also was not sought.

If the steering committee thought the delegates were malleable, it found out its error early. The delegates were an articulate, clear-thinking tough group, determined to have their say. Randolph wielded a heavy gavel at times to push through the steering committee's program. But the delegates fought back. At one point a melee broke out and the convention was a shambles. Instead of elevating Randolph to sainthood, the convention tarnished his halo. But the halo remained and, by its nature, NALC must be counted on the side of the angels.

UNWANTED CHILD: If NALC is accepted by top labor leaders, it will be as an unwanted child. Many in the AFL-CIO Executive Council indicated their disapproval months ago. They accused Negro leaders of promoting "dual unionism" and "black nationalism." Few could face the issue with a clear conscience.

AFL-CIO president George Meany and vice presidents James B. Carey and George M. Harrison found excuses for declining invitations to speak at the convention. Only United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther and Steel Workers secy.-treasurer I. W. Abel came.

Reuther told a pre-convention rally of his support for the council's aims. He called for the expulsion from the AFL-CIO of jimcrow unions and the elimination of racial barriers to job opportunities. He said that "communists" at his union's 1943 convention had proposed the inclusion of a Negro on the executive board. He said he fought the proposal then and continues to oppose it because he does not believe board members should be chosen by color but because of ability. He did not explain why in 17 years since no Negro has been on his board.



Mounts, California Eagle

—In unity there is strength—

After Randolph's keynote address, the convention divided into committees where delegates were asked to frame resolutions. The Saturday afternoon session, it was announced, would pass on the resolutions and adopt a constitution.

MATTER OF PRINCIPLE: The committee sessions bustled as delegates eagerly joined discussions. But the committee resolutions never reached the floor because the afternoon session and Sunday's sessions were devoted to a knock-down fight on the constitution.

The delegates were asked to vote on each article of a 20-article constitution. The first two articles were accepted without debate. But Article III on "Objects and Principles" contained this clause: "To design programs to fight racism, communism, corruption and racketeering in the trade union movement." Delegates rushed to the floor microphone to voice their objections.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

He almost had a runaway convention

Some opposed the measure on principle. But the majority sentiment seemed to be summed up by the delegate who said: "There are dozens of organizations to fight communism and corruption but none to fight jimcrow. Why are we promising to spend our time and money fighting these other issues. We came to fight racism, let's stick to that."

The revolt seemed to surprise Randolph. From the chair he pleaded that the council must be "unalterably opposed to the like evils of racism, communism and fascism." He called for a voice vote. It was close, but the "Nos" seemed to have it. Randolph nevertheless declared the article approved. But a dozen persons jumped to their feet and spoke at once. One voice proposed that the clause be sent back to committee for further study. Randolph seized the opportunity and put the referral motion to vote. It carried overwhelmingly.

WELL-OILED MACHINE: That night delegates relaxed at a banquet where they heard Mrs. Daisy Bates, leader of the desegregation fight in Little Rock. She told of the continued harassment of Negro students at Central High School. Two days earlier, she said, the Negro students were pelted with eggs by white classmates. The same day she was given a traffic ticket while waiting to pick up Negro students after school. A white passer-by was beaten and jailed for questioning why Mrs. Bates was being penalized.

The steering committee spent the night oiling its machine. When the Sunday morning session opened Randolph declared that the council was "unalterably committeed to our free democratic society." He added that the Negro freedom movement would not be tolerated in a totalitarian country.

Randolph then announced that the convention "must adjourn at 2:30 not 2:35" and any unfinished business would be referred to the executive board. In the interest of time, he said, only three persons would be allowed to speak on any article. With that preamble a "compromise" resolution was introduced. It deleted the words "design programs to fight" and substituted a pledge of "unalterable opposition to racism, communism, fascism, corruption and racketeering."

STRONG OPPOSITION: A dozen delegates lined up at the floor microphone. First to speak was Willoughby Abner, a steering committee member. He said he had agreed with those who criticized the original wording but "only those who are not opposed to communism, racism and racketeering" would find fault with the new language.

Many still opposed the provision. Teamster John Williams from Los Angeles wanted to "limit the language to fighting discrimination." He said: "We Teamsters have monitors on our backs fighting alleged racketeering. We have Dixiecrat McClellan fighting alleged racketeering. We have the FBI fighting racketeering. But none of these is fighting my fight. They're fighting to get Jimmy [Hoffa] out, but they're not fighting to get me in."

A woman delegate said: "I heard Daisy Bates last night and all I got time for is to fight discrimination."

But most delegates seemed to believe the new wording had taken the sting out of the provision. When the vote came, the "compromise" passed handily.

Other articles passed without debate until the section on dues was introduced. The steering committee proposed $4 a year. Delegates scrambled to the microphone. Some wanted $3, others $5 and some supported the committee. Randolph permitted debate for more than an hour before the $3 dues was accepted.

THE SPEED-UP: Randolph warned that time was short and the rest of the cosstitution must be acted on in a hurry. Other articles were quickly pushed through, including a section empowering the executive board to expel any local council "officered, controlled or dominated by communists, fascists or other totalitarians."

Little time remained after the constitution was adopted. Randolph relinquished the chair while he was nominated for president. He was unopposed.

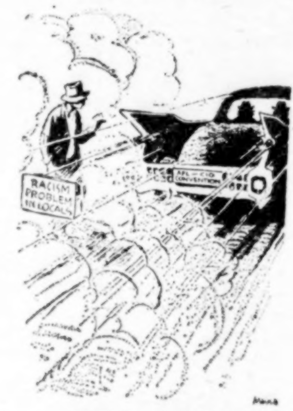
Randolph resumed as chairman and announced that the steering committee had a slate to fill the 16 vice president posts. He read 16 names and asked the delegates to vote yes or no. A wild scene followed. Delegates demanded the right to nominate from the floor but Randolph insisted the slate must be voted up or down.

While dozens were on their feet shouting and others fought for the microphone, Randolph called for a vote. The "Nayes" clearly outnumbered the "Yeas" but Randolph declared the slate elected.

WOMEN REVOLT: Mrs. Jeanette Strong, a steel worker from Gary, Ind., grabbed the microphone and denounced the steering committee for excluding women from the board. Randolph banged his gavel to silence her but she continued talking. Other women surrounded her to add their voices. Several men rushed at them. Tempers flared, fists swung and the hall rang with shouts. Randolph banged his gavel but he could not be heard above the din. He had lost control of the convention.

After ten minutes order was restored. But as delegates returned to their seats and the noise quieted, Mrs. Strong was still at the microphone—the winner. In a calm, self-assured voice she repeated her demand for women on the executive board. In violation of the constitution the convention had just passed limiting the vice presidents to 16, Randolph ordered the women delegates to caucus and come back with the names of two women to be added to the board.

The women assembled in the ladies lounge to assure privacy and returned to the convention with the nomination of Mrs. Agnes Willis of New York and Lolabelle Holmes of Chicago. Although almost no one knew about the women or what unions they represented, Randolph declared their names added to the slate. He re-read the slate, including Theodore Brown as secretary and Richard Parrish as treasurer, although neither was formally nominated. Quickly he called for a vote, declared the slate nominated and the convention adjourned.



Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Intruder in the dust

LOCALS THE KEY: Whatever they expected, the delegates got a tightly controlled organization with a national executive board holding close rein on locals. There was little room for local initiative.

Those who had hoped the convention would found a mass organization for Randolph to head were disappointed. But others pointed out that the local councils held the key. If they could organize Negro unionists for local fights, the national body could be forced to take on the larger issues. One observer told the GUARDIAN: "After all, any labor organization Meany is against can't be all bad."

We've Just Begun To Fight!
Join the Guardian Boat Ride!
Fri., June 17, 7 to 11 P.M.
With Tony Kraber

Cambridge rally June 15 on 'urgent peace struggle'

"THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE — Urgent Next Steps" will be the theme of a meeting to be held on Wednesday, June 15, at 8:15 p.m. at the First Congregational Church, 11 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass.

The Rt. Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, member of Britain's Parliament, 1959 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Dr. Linus Pauling, Dr. H. Stuart Hughes of the History Department, Harvard University, and Rabbi Roland Gittelsohn, of Temple Israel, Brookline, Mass., will speak.

Sponsors include the American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Greater Boston Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Greater Boston Committee on Political Action for Peace, and others. Admission is free. Information may be obtained by calling UNiversity 8-8340 in Cambridge, Mass.

June 19 Open House at Camp Kinderland

THE CAMP KINDERLAND Parents Association will hold a gala outing Sunday, June 19, at the camp grounds in Hopewell Junction, N.Y.

Information on the outing may be obtained from Camp Kinderland, 1 Union Square West, New York 3, AL 5-6283.

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'WEST SIDE MOTHER' SETS OFF A DISCUSSION

Juvenile delinquency: The readers write

In the Spectator column of May 16, a GUARDIAN reader who signed her article "West Side Mother" expressed herself on juvenile delinquency and said it was high time "that the Left Wing realized that this is a live issue and that it should be met on practical terms." Accepting the proposition that "the growth of delinquency is symptomatic of the decadence of our society," she said it was "begging the issue to call for a cut in the military budget as a direct solution." Among the practical measures she suggested were more police in the parks; better lighting; psychiatric treatment for offenders and free clinics for parents; breaking up of gangs; a citizens' campaign against violence in magazines, TV, etc., and a policy of swift apprehension of offenders. The mail response to the article was heavy. Below is a sampling of the replies.

Behavior and environment

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I agree that society must protect itself from the anti-social behavior of juvenile delinquents, whatever the cause. At the same time, however, the causes should be understood so preventive steps can be taken.

It seems to me that, excepting mental illness, a child's behavior reflects his environment—his home, school and community experiences.

It would take a child of unusual gifts to rise above such harmful influences as a broken home, an irresponsible father, constant parental quarrels, neglect and disinterest. Why parents should behave this way is another matter, and reflects the insecurities and contradictions of society, the immediate as well as the world community.

When a child from such a home starts school, he is likely to have his problems compounded. For a variety of possible reasons, he is likely to be a slow beginning reader. If he doesn't learn to read well, he fails all his subjects, his future looks dim, and he feels frustrated and a failure. School becomes an unending insult, frustration, and nightmare for him. Is it any great wonder that he takes the opportunity to band together, at last, with his peers, and end his humiliation; that he sometimes seeks blind, senseless revenge,

In his teens, this boy may commit a crime and be sent to a state "reform" institution. There, he is likely to come under the influence of more experienced offenders, despite the best efforts of the staff. The evidence that such institutions do not deter crime is seen from the high percentage of returnees.

Here is my program for preventing juvenile delinquency:

1. Reorganize elementary education to make intensive, individual, consistent remedial reading help mandatory for ALL children who need it in the first four grades.
2. Reorganize the schools' vocational guidance programs to insure that every child in danger of dropping out of high school be taught a useful trade before he drops out. Attach job placement agencies to and physically in the schools.
3. If a juvenile offender comes from a clearly unhealthy home, do not return him to that home or community.
4. Instead, create non-punitive, educational boarding institutions for such boys, where they will have an opportunity to learn hope from a qualified, wholesome, self-governing environment. Attach job placement agencies to such institutions.

C. S.

On human relations

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

I am a retired teacher and a Humanist. I can tell that West Side Mother has some very real grievances and that she is an intelligent person with a desire to see the society in which she lives improved. I must agree with a writer I read recently who says: "The problem is the problem of juveniles in a delinquent society."

I would suggest that all policemen should be required to study and practice human relations. A formal study course in this subject should help them in dealing with all kinds of people. No policemen should consider it his business to push anyone around—children, minorities, or anyone else. I believe that New York State is rather behind the times in its treatment of juveniles, from what I read.

Let me suggest that all interested might profit from reading the two following books: **Protecting Our Children from Criminal Careers,** by John R. Ellingston, special advisor on criminal justice for youth, American Law Institute; **Understanding and Preventing Juvenile Delinquency**, by Haskell M. Miller.

Ida L. Mote

The other side of town

NEW YORK, N.Y.

May an East Side Mother commend the West Sider for her initiative? I believe that her description of the complex nature of the delinquency problem is correct, and her practical proposals make sense. But I do take issue with her on several points. I did not hear the speech by the left-winger, so I cannot judge whether or not he "sneered," but if he opposed the Rockefeller youth bills, he was 100% correct.

Studies made by the Citizens Committee for Children and the United Parents Assn. have observed that the get-tough bills are a front to cover up the basic by-passing of the genuine needs of millions of children in education, health, job training, guidance, etc.

NEW YORK YOUTHS ARE BOOKED AFTER A GANG 'RUMBLE'
But many question prison as a solution to juvenile delinquency

I live in a neighborhood which has pioneered in the field of community improvement through self-help and intergroup efforts, with the main focus directed on youth problems. Several years of study and experience have confirmed the following conclusions for both the professional leadership in social agencies and volunteer groups:

- Hostilities and gangs are not the creation of newcomers; they are in part self-defense measures taken to offset the negative, discriminatory behavior by the older residents.
- There is a relationship between crime statistics and slum tenements, not because poor people make criminals, but because law-defying landlords, sweetheart contract employers and, yes, even schools "rob" the minority groups in varying degrees.
- It is not enough for citizen groups to deplore the increase in crime by young people: young people are not safe on New York City streets from the narcotics pusher, the adult sellers of switchblade knives and firearms. It is the latter against whom the most vigorous police and community action should be directed.

Finally, I would like to ask West Side Mother to take a full look at her neighborhood, which she calls "good." Is it "good" for the Puerto Rican and Negro families paying exorbitant rents to landlords, or facing relocation to make way for luxury housing? Is it "good" for the children who sit out their after-school hours and their summer days (and nights) on crowded stoops?

I would like to suggest that she include in her practical program to promote juvenile decency not only steps to treat the violators of the law, but measures for a total attack which will prevent and control some of the factors responsible for crime. Both approaches must be viewed as complementary; in other words, the immediate and the long-range are equally necessary. And to be really practical, the basic long-range factors must be seen as primary. Otherwise, we will be trying to bail out an ocean with a leaky spoon.

East Side Mother

The Soviet example

WILMETTE, ILL.

I do not deny that punishment has some slight deterrent effect, but our reliance on it has been our ruin. The only satisfactory way of meeting the problem of juvenile delinquency is by taking such care of our young people that the delinquent activities will not have a compelling influence over them. We must provide our boys and girls with things to do which are of absorbing, compelling interest, things which they recognize as worth doing, things they want to do.

I may suggest that the Soviet people, in their Children's Palaces, have gone a long way in solving the problem of adolescent education. There are juvenile offenders against public peace and welfare in the Soviet Union, but they are not a threatening, overwhelming horde as they are in this country. The Soviet people have provided activities which entice their youth to do the things which are very much worth while—educative, of value to the community and an important factor in the development of a great nation.

Another great influence at minimizing juvenile delinquency in the Soviet Union is their educational system. The Soviet schools, especially since their recent insistence that hand work should be an essential part of education, are pursuing exactly the policy that I advocated in vain 65 years ago, when I began my 40 years in Chicago school rooms. The sharing of the necessary work of the community is an influence incalculably great in bringing youth through the restless years to adult devoted citizenship.

If we would only get over our idiotic squandering of money on munitions we should have adequate funds for the suitable care of our boys and girls and we might save them from the hell into which so many of them are rushing.

Ralph E. Blount

Those who know best

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We speak these days of learning from the people in order to lead them toward the social changes we all want; yet in no area, I think, have we bothered less to listen to the people than in this one that they know best: the conditions, welfare and problems of their children.

The Left-wing press seems to show far more concern for the juvenile delinquents, in most cases, than for their victims. I wonder if some of our pundits would be "philosophical" if a child was wantonly beaten or killed on the same block where **their** children played?

In no area have I found a wider divergence between the views held by most Left-wingers and the opinions of workers than in this one. I would like to offer a reason why this state of affairs has come about. I think we have forgotten that the working-class is the healthiest, wisest, and strongest class in our society.

We have forgotten this since we tend, in this area, to think that oppression causes breakdown, delinquency, etc., and that the more brutal the oppression, the more the breakdown and delinquency. So that we tend to "explain" delinquency among working-class youth by the depressed living conditions of the working-class, and we almost "justify" delinqenucy among Negro and Puerto Rican youths by the terrible living conditions in which most Negro and Puerto Rican people are forced to live. Working-class Negro and Puerto Rican parents are not so "charitable;" they express horror and anger when a delinquent kills and robs.

To proceed against juvenile delinquency is distinctly **not** to be anti-working-class. I have known two cases where the first action that working-class mothers took spontaneously, in a united manner, was to demand police protection against hooligans who were terrorizing their children and themselves.

Some years ago I taught at a junior high school in New York City in a Negro and Puerto Rican community. This school of 2,000 children was thrown into turmoil, and the children and faculty terrorized by two gangs of about 200 each, who wielded knives of all sorts, sold marijuana, and engaged in other anti-social practices. When the teachers in desperation sent a delegation to the principal and asked that he take disciplinary action against the members of these gangs, the principal replied that he would not, that it would bring "notoriety" upon the school if he did. It is well known to teachers, at any rate, that principals in New York City try to "keep things quiet." But Left-wingers, to my surprise, seemed to go along with this position of the principal; they felt that to take action against these gang members would somehow be "anti-Negro or anti-Puerto Rican." The fact that the overwhelming majority of the children who were victimized by these gangs were also Negro and Puerto Rican, didn't seem to impress the Left-wingers with whom I spoke.

Basic to any program we offer, I think, should be these two considerations: (1) that the working-class, Negro and Puerto Rican youths are **not** more criminal than middle-class youths (Du Bois wrote about fifty years ago, concerning the Negro people: "We are not the more criminal; we are the more often arrested."); (2) that the program for dealing with juvenile delinquency must come, first of all, from those parents concerned with it as a part of and danger to **their personal** lives, as a danger to **their own** children.

Rearing, raising and educating children is really not an esoteric affair: it has been done by millions of people from time immemorial. Some of the "professionals" might even be amazed at the deep wisdom acquired by the people in this matter—if they bothered to listen.

Jacob Shulman

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Jubilee conference acts for peace

By Nancy Reeves
Special to the Guardian

COPENHAGEN

A JUBILEE MEETING commemorating the 50th anniversary of International Women's Day was held in Copenhagen from April 21 to 24. Two days before, delegates began to arrive on every ship, train and plane until, at the plenary session, there were more than 900 women from some 75 countries.

Sessions were held in the Idraetshus, the city's largest hall, which was decorated with banners reading "Women's Day 1910-1960" in French, English, German, Spanish, Russian and Chinese.

INDONESIAN WOMEN PARADE IN DJAKARTA ON INDEPENDENCE DAY
A delegate to Copenhagen described the progress of women in her country

Anna Westergaard, former member of the Senate and Chief Controller of Railways in Denmark, made the welcoming speech. Esther Brinch, a member of the Danish National Committee which prepared the Jubilee, related the background of the meeting: "On December 5 and 6, 1959, a small group of women of various political and religious concepts, various professions, various races, met in Copenhagen. It was our aim to celebrate the 50th anniversary of an international women's rally held in Copenhagen in 1910, the socialist rally called by Clara Zetkin, which decided to celebrate March 8 each year as Intl. Women's Day.

"The initiating committee decided that this year's rally should not be limited to any definite political movement as had been the case in 1910, but that all should be invited without discrimination for a discussion of feminist problems which exist all over the world."

HALF OF HUMANITY: She cited the presence of women from countries which have made great progress, and from countries where both men and women had few or no rights. She said it was women's concern, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . We constitute half of humanity. Imagine our strength if we unite—and imagine our responsibility if we don't."

This theme was continued by Mme. Eugenie Cotton, president of the Women's International Democratic Federation: "This human fraternity which breaks down all barriers of race and nationality, this spirit of fraternity which we are so vividly experiencing in Copenhagen at this moment, in the presence of our sisters from all continents, should have long since cured the world of the most cruel of all scourges—the scourge of war.

"Let there be no more wars! This is the ardent desire of women who cannot accept the idea that lives should be sacrificed for the sake of settling economic, political or racial differences."

CLEAN THE WORLD: Among the prominent speakers were Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru of India, president of the Indian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, who spoke on the "tasks of women's organizations and all women in favor of the relaxation of international tension, disarmament and cooperation between peoples." She noted that the armament race, nuclear weapons and war are only symptoms of the diseases themselves: "Colonialism, color prejudice and a feeling of superiority."

She said that "as long as incidents happen like the recent mass killings in South Africa, as long as the policy of apartheid is allowed to continue unchecked, as long as the system of colonialism lasts, there can be no peace for mankind. Injustice and peace cannot go together. There is no question of coexistence for them because, like the proverbial swords two of which cannot fit into one sheath, they cannot live together. If, therefore, we want peace, we have to clean the world of all injustice, of all exploitation, of all domination, wherever they may exist."

KALEIDOSCOPIC: It was a colorful assembly with many costumes: saris from India and Ceylon, sarongs from Indonesia, traditional dresses from Africa, Scandinavia, China and Latin America. A wide range of occupations was included: housewives, industrial workers, professional women and members of government. Organizations represented were also varied: The Open Door, Soroptimists, Intl. Assn. of Women Lawyers, the French section of the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom, the Indonesian Women's Congress, Gerwani, the Pakistan Women's Congress, League of Basutoland, Union of Guadalupe Women, and others.

At the first plenary session, papers were read on five principal subjects: Peace, by Mrs. Nehru; Education and Cultural Development of Women, by Mrs. Guillen de Nicolau of Mexico; Participation of Women in Economic Life, by Mrs. Marguerite Thibert of France; The Civil Rights of Women, by Mrs. Giovanni Pratilli of Italy; and the Participation of Women in Public Life by this reporter.

WOMEN IN ACTION: The assembly then divided into five commissions to consider these questions, and there were many reports of the activities of women in the recent upsurge of national liberation movements. The delegate from Algeria reported that women are important in all aspects of her country's struggle. She said it is so well known that women succor the liberation army, that in a burned-out village survivors do not hang out any laundry, for if the enemy sees it, he will know a woman is there, and the woman is the army.

A delegate from Indonesia stated that only free countries can promote women's progress. She told how historically, before colonial rule, women in her country had high status. After colonial rule, there was profound degradation. Then came liberation of the country, and with it, the liberation of women. Now, in Indonesia, women have the right to vote and to be elected to office. There are two women ministers and many other representatives in high government bodies.

The largest seminar was the one concerned with peace. It was attended by 113 women from 50 countries.

WIDE SUPPORT: Greetings were received from noted persons in many countries, including Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, who wrote: "I am with you today with all my heart in celebrating the 50th Anniversary of Intl. Women's Day."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn of the U.S. delivered her greetings in person, bringing to the attention of the Assembly that March 8 was chosen to commemorate a great trade union struggle by women in New York, and that International Women's Day thus originated in her country.

A greeting from Emily G. Balch was read by Helen Alfred. An appeal from Shirley Graham Du Bois, movingly read by Mrs. A. C. Bilbrew of Los Angeles, called upon the delegates to note the grave threat to peace by the government of South Africa, and asked that it be condemned, not only by words, but by actions.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Denmark entertained minister delegates of the Jubilee at a formal luncheon.

Copenhagen lined up to watch the delegates as they marched in a torchlight procession to the City Hall steps where a presentation was made to Mrs. Nehru.

SOLID UNITY: The last plenary session revealed that the women had come to understand one another better. East Germany was sitting with West Germany and France was supporting Algeria. On the first day, one Israel delegate had remarked in private conversation that she had to cover all the commissions "to find out what the Arabs were saying." On the last day, the delegate from Pakistan was invited to visit Israel. The Assembly was a place where women from all over the world discarded political hatreds and separate religious concepts, left their differences outside the door, and united to work for progress and peace.

LILLIAN SMITH: 'WE MUST HELP'

Sit-in leaders speak

A group of letters from student leaders reporting on Southern sit-ins and Northern supporting protest has been published as a 16-page pamphlet, Sit-Ins: The Students Report, *by the Congress of Racial Equality. Five letters are from Southern Negro students, including one from Patricia Stephens written from a Tallahassee jail; a sixth is from a Columbia University student in New York.*

The pamphlet has an introduction by Southern white novelist Lillian Smith, reprinted below. Individual copies at 25 cents are available from CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y. Reduced prices are offered on quantity orders.

HERE ARE SIX LETTERS which only the young and brave could have written. Each tells with simplicity and grace how it felt to be caught up in the students' movement of non-violent protest: how it felt to be beaten and pushed around by hoodlums and, in some towns, by policemen; how it felt to be hustled off to jail and bull pen; how it felt after one got there; and how it now feels to analyze what one did or failed to do, and what one must do, next time. For there will be "next times": you are sure of it as you read.

I was deeply moved by these stories. There is validity in them; and thoughtfulness, and modesty, and a nice understatement. But courage shines through—as do the high spirits and gaiety and refusal to resent which turned some nasty ordeals into significant experience, and even into adventure.

Do not misunderstand, please, my use of **"adventure."** These students are highhearted, they can laugh, thank God, at the crazy, mad absurdities of life in segregated culture; they can shrug off the obscenities; and I honor them for it. But they are serious, they have suffered and will suffer again; they have made grave, enduring commitments and have found the courage to risk; but none of it has been easy. Nor should it be easy for us to accept their sacrifice and suffering. Let's not forget that these students are going to jail not only for **their** freedom but for yours and mine; not only because **they** have been hurt by the indignities of segregation but because we all have been hurt.

NEGRO STUDENTS PRAY AT COURTHOUSE IN MARSHALL, TEX.
They silently protested the arrest of 50 at a white lunch counter

As I watch them, as I see the movement spread from college to college and city to city, I am deeply stirred as are millions of other Americans. What is it we feel? what do we hope for? I can answer only for myself. For me, it is as if the **No Exit** sign is about to come down from our age. It is the beginning of new things, of a new kind of leadership. If the white students will join in ever-increasing numbers with these Negro students, change will come; their experience of suffering and working together for what they know is right, the self-discipline, the refusal to act in violence or think in violence will bring a new spiritual life not only to our region but to our entire country.

But you and I must help: first, by understanding what non-violent resistance means, what its possibilities are; and second, by giving these students our personal support. They need money, yes; but they need even more to know that we are with them.

THE INDIA-CHINA BORDER IMPASSE REMAINS, BUT . . .

Chou and Nehru agree to settlement-by-talk

By Narendra Goyal
Guardian staff correspondent

SAID MR. NEHRU TO MR. CHOU: LET'S NOT GET SENTIMENTAL OVER MOUNTAIN TOPS
But sentiment or no, these Himalayan peaks loomed tall in the recent discussions

NEW DELHI

INDIAN PREMIER NEHRU and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai in a joint communique April 25 conceded that their week-long conference in New Delhi had failed to resolve the India-China border dispute. But they pledged "to avoid friction and clashes in border areas" while a commission composed of Indian and Chinese diplomats met in June-September to examine data submitted by both sides to justify their claims.

The border dispute has gone through three phases in the last decade. The first phase of procrastination and diplomatic silence was followed by a battle of words on events in Tibet in April-August, 1959, out of which grew almost imperceptibly the third phase when each side angrily challenged the other.

The Nehru-Chou talks ushered in the fourth phase; it may lead to a peaceful settlement of the dispute if the Indian Premier succeeds in carrying his Congress Party with him on this issue. A necessary cooling-off period seems to have been provided by setting up the commission.

TENSIONS REDUCED: China's agreements with Indonesia, Burma and Nepal prior to Chou's arrival in New Delhi were interpreted by Indians as an attempt to isolate India. Yet, although no Indian at the moment is willing to admit it, these agreements must also have underscored the urgency of settling the India-China border dispute. That talks will continue via the diplomats' commission is in itself an important achievement likely to reduce the tensions whipped up during the past months.

The commission will "examine, check and study all the historical documents and records, accounts and maps and other material relevant to the question and draw up a report for submission to the two governments." Nehru told parliament that the commission's inquiry will not necessarily make a settlement easier, but it will help him know "on what the Chinese case stands."

EMPHASIS IN KATMANDU
Premier Chou talks to the press in Nepal, after leaving New Delhi, about Nehru's report to the Indian parliament.

Undeniably, the commission's work will lead at least to a better understanding of the problem, as the Nehru-Chou talks did. From New Delhi and Peking, each side merely restated its own position without listening to the other. Face to face during April 19-25, each had to hear the other side. After letting off steam, they had to clarify their different approaches and sum up their points of difference without the clichés used in addressing an audience.

COUNTER-CLAIMS: Nehru said the conferees had encountered a hard rock of entirely different sets of historical and other facts which left both unconvinced. The commission will, for instance, look into documents relating to the history of each side's occupation and advance in the border regions controlled by them today: who arrived where first?

Indians say the Chinese "occupied" Aksai Chin in the west after 1954; the Chinese claim they were in actual control of the area for 200 years and their armies entered Tibet from Sinkiang by that route in 1950. The Chinese accuse the Indians of moving up to the MacMahon line in the east only after 1950 on territory India claims has belonged to it for 2,000 years.

India has no way to prove that the Chinese armies did not use the caravan route which is now a paved road in that corner of Ladakh; on the other hand the burden falls on India to prove its own presence there between 1950 and 1960. In the east, even if the Indian administration moved up to the MacMahon line after 1950 (in some parts it is still non-existent due to tribal conflict), it does not disprove that the territory belongs to India; the Chinese will have to show that they ever ruled over those tribes who acknowledged no master for long periods in their history.

MUCH CONFUSION: Depending on the extent of good work they can do in the next four months, the experts comprising the commission should be able to clear up some confusion regarding the contradictory and unrelated data presented to the world by the two sides.

A correlation of the data should at least clarify first of all what exactly is the Chinese map-line according to their maps; when the maps began to change and why; what disputes are old and what are new; and, above all, among the various arguments—historical, administrative, geographic and other—which ones bring the two countries nearer to an agreement. Facts may differ and seem irreconcilable: nevertheless, a peaceful solution has to depend on facts and nothing else.

The expectation prevailed in India that Chou might bring some magic formula — some concessions — and display some initiative which would solve the border problem overnight and restore India-China friendship; but it was not fulfilled. The Chinese Premier displayed initiative in reaffirming his sincere desire to reach a "reasonable agreement" and his belief that India-China friendship is "eternal" and cannot and should not be jeopardized by temporary disputes which are "one finger out of ten."

CONCESSIONS DIFFICULT: Nehru, however, thought that the dispute was ten fingers out of ten and, while friendship should not be jeopardized, he was not sure that it could not be. Chou wooed the Indian government by regretting that Indian-Chinese cooperation had not flowered in the field of construction as it should have; Nehru brushed aside what he considered sentimental advances by saying that good faith and understanding could be restored only by undoing much that was done. In the temper of the time, any suggestion of surrender by one side to the other was out of the question. It was too early to do that.

At his farewell press conference the Chinese Premier stressed six points, on all of which Nehru in his rebuttal in parliament seemed to differ: (1) There exists a border dispute—Nehru ignored it in his rebuttal; (2) there is a line of actual control up to which each side exercises administrative jurisdiction—Nehru conceded "it may be very important" but he defined control as purely military, conferring no administrative jurisdiction; (3) watershed, river valley, mountain passes and other geographical factors should be equally applied to the entire border—Nehru said he agreed that "watersheds are important factors, but it does not carry us anywhere;" (4) national feelings of the two countries should be taken into account—Nehru admitted this was in response to Indian feelings for the Himalayas and added that, while the Chinese are sentimental about the Karakuoram, "we cannot have a plebiscite of the mountain peaks in the Himalayas;" (5) pending a settlement, each side should maintain its stand but stay on the actual line of control and make no territorial claims—Nehru found this point unclear, which meant he was undecided about it (Chou's point was that Chinese claims should be provisionally as respected as Indian claims); (6) to ensure the tranquility of the border, both sides should refrain from sending forward patrols—Nehru replied he did not agree to this.

THE ALTERNATIVES: Most observers considered the first two points as obvious, the third and fourth subject to negotiations and the last two already accepted in fact if not in theory. India may like to "vacate Chinese aggression" but maintaining the status quo is the only alternative to war and neither side can afford new border clashes.

Reciprocal acceptance of realities, meaning Chinese recognition of the MacMahon line and Indian acceptance of Aksai Chin as belonging to China, has been clearly implied in the Chinese proposals since the first diplomatic exchanges in early 1959. Nehru was agreeable to such a settlement, even if it were called "barter" by his opponents; later his attitude hardened under domestic pressure.

Now as before, a reasonable settlement will be reached if Nehru can win over those at home who have been asking him to bomb areas they say are "occupied" by the Chinese. Although they ended in an impasse, the Nehru-Chou talks have established the principle of settlement by negotiations, which should henceforth proceed more realistically.

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Turmoil over bases

(Continued from Page 1)

spect each other's territorial integrity and political independence and to refrain from any action which might increase tensions." Observers saw in the last two points of the resolution an implied rebuke to the U.S. for the U-2 violation of Soviet air space.

BASIC ISSUES REMAIN: At Geneva also the mood was calm as the U.S., the Soviet Union and Britain on May 27 resumed nuclear test ban negotiations. No one referred to the U-2 intrusion. British representative Sir Michael Wright described the opening session as a "businesslike meeting in a non-controversial atmosphere."

It was evident, however, that in Washington the forces opposed to an East-West understanding were carrying on as before and their influence on the President had not diminished. This was clearly indicated in Eisenhower's contradictory report on the summit collapse and in the UN, where the U.S. seemed more interested in scoring debating points than in tackling basic issues.

In his report the President doggedly justified the U-2 military reconnaissance missions over Soviet territory and took "full responsibility for approving all the various programs undertaken by our government to secure and evaluate military intelligence." In the UN, Ambassador Henry C. Lodge evaded the U-2 issue while he listed alleged Soviet spies apprehended in the U.S.

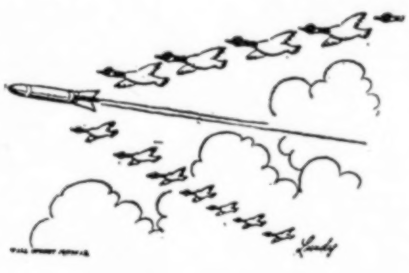
A CLEAR INDICTMENT: At the UN, Poland's Jerzy Michalowski pinpointed the three aspects of the U-2 issue: that (1) the flight of the U-2 deep inside Soviet territory violated international law regarding air sovereignty as promulgated in the 1919 Paris Convention, the 1928 Havana Convention, the 1944 Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation, several articles of the UN Charter, the 1935 Soviet Air Code and the 1958 U.S. Federal Aviation Act; that (2) the "Herter Doctrine" of the right of air espionage "raised violation of international law to the rank of official U.S. policy"; that (3) no one can be sure that a plane "appearing on the radar screen carries only an amateur photographer and not a load of atom bombs."

The Polish delegate said the U-2 flight also "violated the frontiers of other states," "broke bilateral agreements on the use of bases" and "harmed neighborly relations between the U.S.S.R. and other countries," thereby endangering "peace and security in a large area of the world." He noted:

"Nowadays missiles are always in readiness on their launching pads, radars are searching the skies, and bombers of the Strategic Air Command carrying atom bombs keep on flying over the Pole. One blunder, one misunderstanding, one irresponsible move may be enough to cause the pushing of buttons and the release of irrevocable orders."

CLOAKS AND DAGGERS: Lodge, however, tried to bury the legal, military and political issues raised by the U-2 flight in a morass of alleged cloak and dagger espionage. He ignored the point made by the **Wall Street Journal** (May 13): "A cloak-and-dagger operative could hardly start retaliatory missiles on their way. A plane, even unarmed, might."

Many observers noted Lodge's evasion. NBC-TV correspondent at the UN Merrill Mueller reported that the U.S. "ignored" several points "carefully stressed by the Russians." He said: "Foreign Minister Gromyko wants the UN to open the way to a new Summit conference on the basis of international law condemning violation of sovereignty if you are caught . . . Lodge, in two weak statements . . . tried to steer the Council toward the aggressive threats and actions of Russia." Mueller concluded: "In sum, Soviet Russia appears to have found some legality . . . to stress to the UN that if international law is to be rewritten here the UN, too, could fade out ingloriously."



Lundy, Wall Street Journal

After his report, NBC yanked Mueller out of his UN assignment.

OUT IN THE OPEN: The controversy over the U-2 flight has revealed the dangerously irresponsible manner in which foreign policy is formulated in Washington; has brought to light—even if temporarily—the enormous power wielded by the Central Intelligence Agency and its chief, Allen W. Dulles; and has demonstrated one of the reasons for the current upheaval in Japan which may yet spread to other lands with U.S. bases.

Sen. J. W. Fulbright, for instance, has questioned the wisdom of the President's rushing to assume the responsibility for the U-2 flight. "Throughout history," Fulbright said, "no chief of state has assumed the responsibility for espionage."

It might be added that it was worse than irresponsible that no one in Washington advised Eisenhower to seize the way out offered by Khrushchev when the Soviet Premier, after disclosing the shooting down of the U-2, said he did not believe the flight had the President's approval.

Columnist Walter Lippmann noted that Eisenhower could have taken "the conventional way out" offered by the Soviet Premier by denying knowledge of the flight and "by a formal and perfunctory expression of regret." But, Lippmann added, the President not only made the "fatal error" of rejecting this way out, he committed the "irreparable mistake" of arguing that "the flight was righteous and necessary" and implying that "such flights would continue."

THE OTHER DULLES: In addition to contributing to the wrecking of the Paris Summit meeting, there were other incalculable dangers inherent in the President's avowed support of U-2 flights. In a profile on Allen Dulles, the London **Observer** (May 22) asserted that the CIA runs "its own foreign policy . . . quite separately from the State Department," as in Laos and Egypt; and that "in the early 1950's [it] supplied the Chiang Kai-shek rebels in northern Burma with arms." When Burma protested American diplomats denied any knowledge of it. More importantly, the **Observer** said:

"The CIA has not only been sending flights over the Soviet Union from bases in Formosa, it has also been flying over China (the men who make the flights are locally known as 'the spooks')."

(Soviet sources in Paris said Moscow knew of such flights occurring even after May 1.)

UPROAR IN JAPAN: Since U-2 flights have also been reported from U.S. bases in Japan, the overwhelming Japanese popular opposition to the Washington-Tokyo security treaty is hardly surprising. Opposition has been so great that Japanese Premier Kishi last January had to sneak out of the country to fly to Washington to sign the treaty; and he obtained parliamentary approval of the treaty only by forcibly removing opposition members and by bodily lifting the Speaker on to his chair.

Demonstrations against the Kishi government and against Eisenhower's visit to Japan, scheduled for June 19, have risen to unprecedented proportions. On May 24 the opposition Socialist Party chairman Inejiro Asanuma handed to U.S. Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II an open letter addressed to Eisenhower urging him to call off his visit, even as a huge crowd including 500 university professors, actors, writers and Buddhist monks paraded before the embassy. On May 26, over 100,000 Japanese besieged Kishi in the parliament building, chanting "Ike don't come" and "Down with Kishi."

Japan, South Vietnam, South Korea, Turkey—the trend is unmistakable in lands with U.S. bases. Non-Communist opponents of the corrupt rule of Ngo Dinh Diem and his family have joined forces in South Vietnam. South Korea's ousted President Rhee has fled to Hawaii for "reasons of health." Turkey is under military rule, with President Celal Bayar and Premier Adnan Menderes and 100 supporters in jail.

In the York (Pa.) **Gazette and Daily** (May 25) commentator Jean Daniel said: "Tomorrow it will be Greece, then Spain."

A TREND IS SPOTTED: If the Kishi government falls, C. L. Sulzberger said (**N.Y. Times, May 28**), the U.S. may have to dismantle military bases in the Japanese islands and "face an ugly situation in Okinawa, potential Cyprus of the Orient . . . If the trend remains undammed, it could spread to Taiwan and oust the Chiang Kai-shek regime, shattering our illusion that this can some day speak for China."

This trend, it was believed, was behind the U.S. announcement on May 27 that a composite air-strike force of 120 fighters and other planes was being dispatched for "training exercises" in Thailand and Taiwan.

The mess in which the U.S. found itself in Paris and the turmoil in countries harboring American bases are being attributed by Democratic Presidential aspirants to Washington's "bumbling" and "fumbling." They would, however, seem to be more the result of a bipartisan foreign policy which Washington has consciously followed: a policy of propping the U.S. economy by military expenditure and to preventing the spread of socialism beyond the present socialist countries by means of military and air bases, bribing corrupt regimes and embracing, in the name of anti-communism, the kind of unpopular and feudal rulers who in the past have always eased the path of imperialist economic penetration and exploitation of cheap and controlled labor.

CHANGE IS INEVITABLE: Yet important American businessmen and economists have asserted that U.S. prosperity can be maintained without military expenditures. And recent history has shown that socialism spreads because it has proved able to accelerate economic progress in quick time. Military bases on foreign soil are demoralizing American soldiers and breeding local animosity toward the U.S. Bribery and military support are failing to keep corrupt regimes in power. The death struggle of imperialist penetration and colonial exploitation is visible to the naked eye.

Necessary change is inevitable and it cannot be diverted by Washington's seeking to provoke a conflict in Asia, or by trying to make China the chief villain instead of the Soviet Union. More than ever it is necessary, as the UN four-power resolution said, to promote co-existence through Summit negotiations, the next time including, as Khrushchev suggested, such countries as China, India and Indonesia.

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BOOKS

John Brown's battle for Kansas

THIS IS AN extraordinary book* It is the story of John Brown in Kansas. Some will classify it as a novel, but the novel has varied widely in meaning since its first use in English in the early 18th Century. It was pure entertainment and I can remember when I was twelve or so entertaining my fellow students in the church stables back of my home with stories which I invented and which they liked. The love story followed and as I grew came Dickens and Dumas and the factual studies of Zola.

In our day the novel has come to supplement history and to tell facts which history either deliberately omitted or never could know. Just what did Napoleon think before Waterloo? No one knows exactly. Yet he did think. Here enters the historical novel. **The Surveyor** is of this type. It gives a picture of John Brown resulting from intensive studies which no person but Truman Nelson has ever made. They are intricate and detailed studies. They took time and infinite trouble to make and they demand time and thought to read. For this reason **The Surveyor** will be dismissed by impatient seekers for entertainment and invention, and be refused review by many modern critics as being neither conventional history nor popular romance.

Yet this is a great book. It is, as described, tumultuously written. Nelson has used words and figures recklessly because he wanted to paint a tangled, unusual picture, futurist in impression. He is not telling a tale which develops logically, regularly or continuously; but he is trying meticulously to fix what actually took place out there on the borders of civilization where slavery and freedom fought a bloody duel embellished and made possible by the color of men's skins and the stealing of toil.

THE INDIVIDUALS involved were a curious mixture of characteristics and the difficulty heretofore with all studies of bleeding Kansas and of the South is that most of these folk were made lay figures with set, unchanging characters whose meeting, action and talking never could be real. Nelson's characters on the other hand are changing, and developing and never altogether reasonable even to themselves, which is saying they are human. To paint their pictures calls for plain English without prim pussyfooting and thus Nelson's prose swings from poetry to nastiness, from dirty plainness to the vagueness of dream.

Especially is this book valuable as history because it lays down a body of fact to answer a question which has been curiously distorted, often deliberately, sometimes through sheer ignorance, and that is, just what was the American slave system? Southerners have naturally built up a picture of a benevolent paternalism and of cultured gentlemen, with contented servants under life tenure, living in pillared mansions amid flowers and song. Literature and theater have been drenched with this twaddle. Nelson paints with facts another picture of the "Slave Barons" and their "Border Ruffians."

The slave-holding patriarchy on the edge of bankruptcy despite free land and slave labor began to develop in its backyard a set of slave drivers with whip and scorpion; men without morals or decency, leaders like Atchison and Shannon with a mob of abandoned ruffians deliberately raising Negroes for sale in Virginia and Kentucky. Back of them were filibusterers like Walker, scum who demanded the reopening of the African slave trade and imperialists like Jefferson Davis planning a slave empire from Maryland to Brazil. The logical cronies were Northern land-grabbers like Robinson and Lane compelled to use free labor for their railroads, contemptuous of "niggers" and determined to build a new capitalism, dealing in slave-grown materials from the South. This combination John Brown put to rout in Kansas and started a Civil War in the nation which could only be stopped by freeing the slaves.

THE BORDER RUFFIAN of this era was everything from an ignorant scoundrel to a greedy adventurer wandering starved and irresponsible from the East or staggering up drunk and bloodthirsty from the Slave South. The Southerner brought with him the determination to get more land for slavery as the black belt began to fade under senseless misuse. Slavery and its leaders were convinced that the rich black 10,000 square miles of territory directly west of Missouri would be slave land or they would disrupt the Union in seizing it. Many Northern and foreign-born opposed this, but with one condition, and that was that if Kansas became free it would be free of Negroes as well as slaves.

A few, and especially one man, joined this opposition but with a difference because of an inborn and a steadfast belief from which he never wavered. John Brown not only regarded slavery as wrong, but Negroes as men. He came to Kansas almost by mistake because his work was in the East. As he said: "God put the Allegheny Mountains from New York to the Southern States for the emancipation of the Negro race. I know these mountains well and could take a body of men in there and never be dislodged."

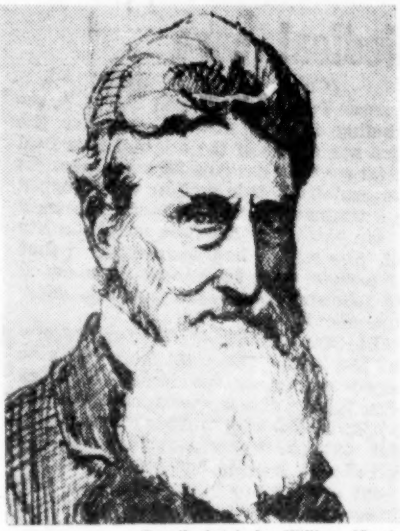
He came West as a wool merchant, but always working on his great life plan. His sons had left Ohio to make a living in Kansas. They found Kansas a path to freedom and called in their father for help. John Brown came hesitantly, disguised as a surveyor, and in Kansas realized that here might lie a path to Harpers Ferry. Nelson then paints a John Brown that none who have written of him before ever conceived: a hesitant man of vast determination, a man who wept and wondered whither he was going and why and yet never really wavered from the great end of his life.

THE FAMILY was of different gift and understanding and yet it formed a marvelous group. They walked into all kinds of trouble trying to walk straight, trying to understand the faint-hearted, the cowards and criminals who surrounded them led by demagogues. One said: "I have such a fire burning in my soul I wish I could overflow like hot lava on that bogus crowd. When I think of the southern chivalry in their frock coats and their kid gloves and their embroidered vests, taking it for granted that the country will keep their slaves in bondage for them . . ."

The Southern leaders answered with bitter invective: "They have been sent by managers who operate a business from Faneuil Hall in Boston to run stolen niggers up to Canada and then ship them back South on Yankee slave ships to be sold all over again."

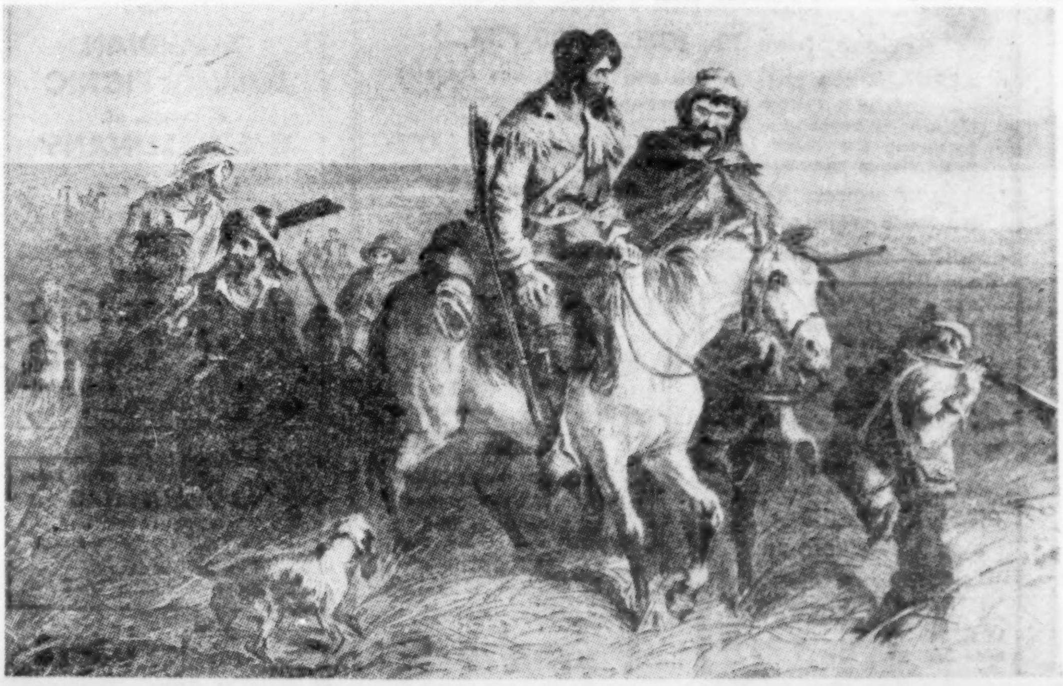
John Brown stuck to his plan. "You boys seem determined to make me out an old fogy with his nose in the Bible all of the time. I beg to remind you that I have also read every book on insurrection that I could lay my hands on from the Roman warfare up through Toussaint L'Ouverture and the European revolution of '48. You seem to forget that I was in Europe in '49 when the event was barely off the stage and that I talked to many of the actors face to face."

Pandemonium followed, stirred up by Atchison, once Senator. "The drunken Ruffians running through the streets with books on their bayonets, or chopping with their belt axes every stick of furniture, precious domestic utensils, groceries, trunks, clothing, anything they could get their hands on . . . putting up their flags with the tigers and lone stars on them, the South Carolina flags, the banners of blood red. And all the while there were Free State officials running around, serving them, delivering their own men into the Ruffians' hands."



Pencil sketch by William Morris Sutler from an 1859 photograph

JOHN BROWN



This old engraving shows a band of pro-slavery "Border Ruffians" who flooded Kansas in 1855 to prevent Free Soil men from voting. John Brown and his band took on the "Ruffians" the following year and eventually won the territory for freedom.

AND THEN CAME the deed at which the world since has cursed and shuddered. "The Old Man stepped out in front of the men. 'What can we do?' asks my friend Mr. Hanway. 'Why, we can do what we have come for . . . fight! . . . we can surprise them in their drunken slumbers and turn their cheap victory into a bloody rout. If they are leaving, as Mr. Hanway suggests, we can go to work even more effectively.'

" 'Doing what?' demanded Hanway.

"The Old Man shook an angry fist at him. 'We can attack best while their forces are scattering. We can burn their wagons, stampede their horses, explode their powder. Poison their water supplies, trail them and dog them every step of the way. Parch the earth all about them. Steal their weapons while they sleep and if we manage to get them in a tight place . . . why, then we can stand fast in the gap and battle for the Lord.' "

The steps of this four-year battle are followed with astonishing care and detail; the historical actions are unearthed and fitted together, the thoughts and motives are reasoned out, the words are skillfully inverted to finish this broad and effective picture, John Brown hesitated and gestured. His favorite son had been murdered, his eldest son driven to the borders of insanity. In the end freedom won in Kansas. The whole territory turned to John Brown. But he turned east where his great work was waiting. The family followed. Nelson pictures that last drive. The old man kept stopping them to hunt along the road.

FINALLY HE EMERGED with a fugitive slave. 'The boys picked their father up and lifted him into the wagon along with the fugitive. John studied his father's face, fearful that he was seriously ill. He had never seen him like this, or even the least bit feeble before. A ray of warmth, a mite of the sun, the morning star, touched joy, satisfaction, and the most irrepressible optimism. He patted the Negro affectionately on the shoulder and said, 'Young man, for some years now I have been watching for stout men like yourself to rise up and join me and my sons in a plan for the immediate and complete emancipation of the Negro race. I see now I cannot bring it off in Kansas, but God gave the strength of the Allegheny Mountains for freedom. They are full of natural forts and hiding places. My plan is to take no more than twenty-five picked men and begin on a small scale at some such place as Harpers Ferry in Virginia . . .

" 'Yes,' said the Negro."

So ends the slow and tortuous part of this story which doubtless Truman Nelson will later carry to its great end. Meantime, such people as can read and have time to learn might use a part of it in digging doggedly through this astonishing book.

W. E. B. Du Bois

**THE SURVEYOR, by Truman Nelson. Doubleday & Co., N.Y. 667 pp. $5.95.*

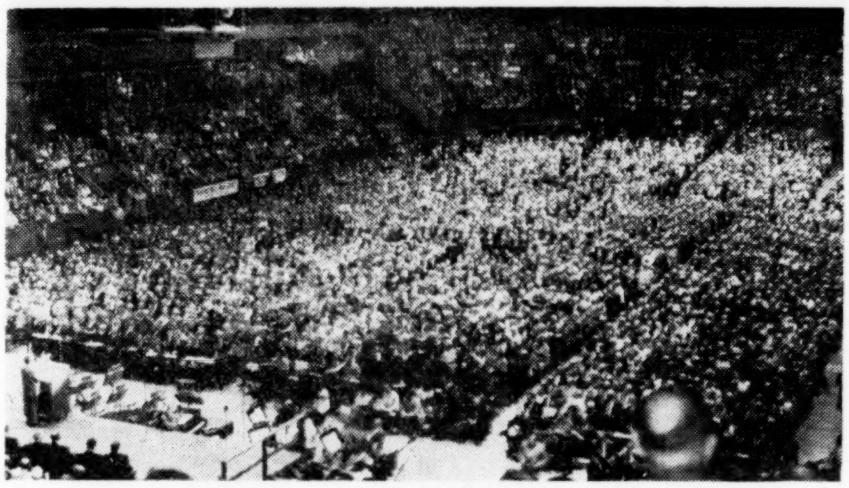
Medical care

(Continued from Page 1)

Frances Perkins, addressed the rally, reminding it that medical care for the aged was a part of the original New Deal social security package 25 years ago. As she explained, this section was dropped as a temporary practical tactic necessary to win passage of the first social security bill. She said it had been expected that the medical care program would be added the following year, 1936, but this never came about.

AFL-CIO President George Meany told the rally: "We meet here today to protest against an inexcusable injustice—the failure of our government to protect the health of its senior citizens. We meet not as workers, businessmen, or professional people, but as Americans. No one can pin any other tag on us. Our opponents can't dismiss us as socialists, radicals or agitators for 'pie in the sky.' Our years and our record are proof against mudslinging."

THUMBS DOWN: On March 31 a Republican-Democratic coalition on the House Ways and Means Committee voted 17 to 8 to kill the Forand bill. On May 19 the committee in a series of votes refused to support the Forand bill even in modified form or to support any version of the administration "Medicare" proposal for Federal-state subsidies to help states set up a voluntary system of medical care by private company insurance.



HERO OF THIS MADISON SQUARE OLDSTERS' RALLY WAS FDR

They are still fighting to perfect the 1935 social security program

The entire issue of medical care for the aged was actually killed May 19 by a vote of 13 to 12, but one committee member relented and changed his vote to permit drafting of a meaningless substitute proposed by committee chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.).

The Mills proposal was to be acted on by the Ways and Means Committee in the first week of June. It will provide a gesture of Federal aid to states that wish to increase medical-care allowances for old people on relief. Such medical care to the indigent is approved even by the American Medical Association. Based on public assistance, it is in no sense a program of medical care for the aged. Its supporters, who oppose the Forand bill, hope it will take the sting out of some of the most flagrant and dramatic cases of old-age need for medical care and thus perhaps take some of the heat out of this powerful issue in the coming elections.

TOGETHER IN EXILE

Santiagos allowed asylum in Cuba

AN UNUSUAL ENDING, if not a happy one, has been written to the government's deportation case against Jo Ann Santiago, Canadian-born wife of Jose Santiago, Puerto Rican patriot, former Communist and now a leader of the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S.

For two years Mrs. Santiago, 38-year-old mother of three U.S.-born children, has been fighting efforts to deport her to Canada on technical grounds that she neglected to obtain permanent residence when brought here at the age of 6.

Canada had agreed to accept Mrs. Santiago, but refused admittance to her husband and family. Mrs. Santiago sought and obtained an offer of political asylum from Cuba for herself and her family. But under strict interpretation of Immigration Dept. rules she would have been compelled to go to Canada.

On May 25 the Department ruled in favor of a request of Mrs. Santiago's attorney, Blanch Freedman, that she be permitted to accept Cuba's offer so that the Santiago family might stay together. The Santiagos are the first Puerto Rican family to be thus exiled from the U.S.

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RECOVERY AFTER ANTI-REVISIONIST STRUGGLE: James S. Allen
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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

MIDWEST CONFERENCE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN — Sun., June 5, 1 to 5 p.m.; banquet ($2 plate) at 6 p.m., Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt. **RUSS NIXON**, guest speaker. Call DE 2-3835 for reservations.

SOVIET FILMS. See & Discuss: Thurs., Fri., Sat., June 9, 10, 11, "The Forty-first" (civil war love-tragedy) Cannes prize winner; magnificent color. Cross World Books, 333 S. Wacker Dr., 5th floor (nr. Van Buren) 8:15 p.m. $1, students 60c. HA 7-1042.

The COLD WAR, the CUBAN REVOLUTION and the 1960 ELECTIONS.
Hear:—**FARRELL DOBBS**
WILLIAM T. BAIRD
JOSEPH P. KING
HOWARD MAYHEW
Sun., June 12, 7:30 p.m., 302 S. Canal St., Hall 210. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. Donation 90c.

DETROIT

REPORT FROM THE SOUTH
Hear REV. **FRED SHUTTLESWORTH**, Pres., Ala. Christian Movement for Human Rights, on the sit-ins, struggle for voter registration.
Sat., June 11, 3 p.m., Central Methodist Church, Adams at Woodward. Adm. free. Ausp: Mich. Friends of the South.

LOS ANGELES

LIGHTS OF NEW YORK
Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee for Dobbs-Weiss-Banks bids adieu to **WILLIAM F. WARDE, EVELYN REED.** Gala social evening. Live entertainment, New York style delicatessen. Cont. $1. Sat., June 6, 8:30 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. For reservations, information AN 9-4953, or WE 5-9238.

BOSTON

You are invited to hear
HY LUMER, member Secretariat & national educational director Communist Party, on the 1960 Elections. Sat., June 4, 8 p.m., Bradford Hotel. Adm. Free. Ausp: Mass. Labor Forum, Lew Johnson, Chairman.

PHILADELPHIA

KEEP THIS DATE OPEN!
SATURDAY EVENING JUNE 25
Philadelphia Friends of the Guardian will be paying tribute to
LOUIS E. BURNHAM

NEW YORK

METROPOLITAN FRATERNAL CLUB MEETS!
FRIDAY **JUNE 3** **8:45 p.m.**
Speaker: **DR. ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN**
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RESORTS

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If you haven't made your reservation yet, don't delay. You'll enjoy stage and concert performers like Bhaskar, the remarkable Indian dancer, comic Bernie West, folk singing Elly Stone, and musician Leonid Hambro, the completely new air conditioned dining room, the new air conditioned private suites, the filtered swimming pool, the fine day camp, tennis (and all other sports), arts and crafts (fully equipped studio) and exuberant folk and square dancing with the indefatigable Mischa Frankel.

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WED., THURS., FRI., June 8, 9, 10,— 2 Brilliant Russian Art Films, **"The Gadfly,"** based on novel by E. L. Voynich, plus "Cossacks Beyond the Danube," great classic operetta. Adm. mat. 50c, eve. 75c. Cont, perf. daily from 11:45 a.m. to 11:45 p.m.
AMERICAN THEATRE, 238 E. 3rd St.
Telephone: CA 8-6875

6th Annual All-Nations Picnic SUN., JUNE 26, Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J. International menu, games, swimming, entertainment. Adm. $1, children free. Tickets, reservations, Am. Comm. Prot. For. Born, 49 E. 21st St., NYC. OR 4-5058

"THE POST-SUMMIT WORLD AND THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE"
An analysis by **ROBERT CHESTER**, contributor to The Militant & International Socialist Review. Fri., June 3, 8:30 p.m., Militant Labor Forum, 116 Univ. Pl. Cont. 50c.

GUARDIAN BOAT RIDE
Fri., June 17, 7 to 11 p.m. Refreshments aboard or bring your own. Feature—**PETE SEEGER** and **TONY KRABER**. Adults $3.50, children und. 12, $2.50. For reservations: phone OR 3-3800, or write: Guardian Boat Ride, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

COME TO THE HUNGARIAN SPRING FESTIVAL
All day Sat., June 11, International Park, 814 E. 225th St., Bronx, nr. White Plains Rd. subway. Good Hungarian goulash, home-made cakes, strudel. Refreshments, good music and dancing. Adm. 75c. Ausp: Hungarian Press Comm.

Hear . . .
HOW THE STUDENTS WASHED OUT THE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE IN SAN FRANCISCO!
Frank Wilkinson
civil liberties leader,
will give an eye-witness report
on
Friday, June 3, 8 p.m.
Woodstock Hotel, 127 W. 43rd St., NYC. Adm: 50c. Ausp: Youth Against the Un-American Committee.

SANTIAGO FAMILY LEAVES FOR CUBA—Testimonial now up-dated to **THURS., JUNE 2**, 8:30 P.M. Hotel Lucerne, 201 W. 79th St. Family departing Fri., June 3.

Hear An
EYE-WITNESS REPORT
By
FRANK WILKINSON
Participant in San Francisco
Demonstration Against
House Un-American Activities Committee
Sat., June 4th, 9:00 p.m.
116 University Place (off Union Sq.)
Cont. 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum

HARLEM OPERA SOCIETY
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Premier Palace, 505 Sutter Av., nr. Hinsdale, 8 p.m. Sun., June 5. Don. 50c.

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PUBLICATIONS

JEWISH CURRENTS, JUNE ISSUE JUST OUT. Features editorial by Morris Schappes, "Climbing Back To The Summit," Louis Harap's Article on best-sellers by Wouk and Golden; Paul Novick's Interview with Cuba's Jewish minister; Ruth Zalman on White House Youth Conference. Single copies 40c; subs $4 yearly ($4.50 outside USA). **JEWISH CURRENTS**, 22 E. 17th St., NYC 3.

RESORTS

SPRING IS HERE and Summer is on the way. Time to come to the **HILLBERG FARM**, Kerhonkson, N.Y. Telephone: Kerhonkson 8008-W

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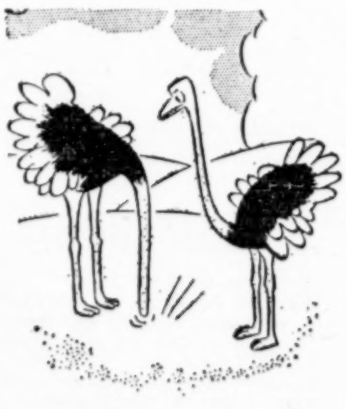

UE Canadian News

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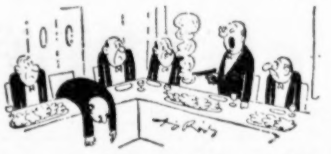

London Evening Standard

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Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N.Y.

The Gallery will return to this page next week.

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IN MEMORIAM

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MRS. DORA CASHDAN
wish to express their deep sympathy to the children on their recent bereavement.

TRAVEL

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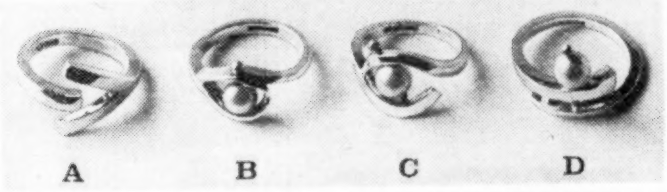

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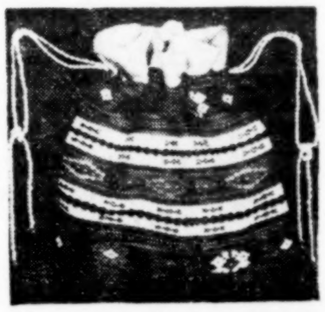
Order by Style Number and Ring Size



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NEWSPAPER

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B COMPLEX		100 capsules—$1.95
VITAMIN C (Ascorbic Acid)	100 mg.	300 tablets — $1.50
VITAMIN C (Ascorbic Acid)	250 mg.	250 tablets — $2.25
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BREWERS YEAST	7½ gr.	250 tablets — $1.25
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the SPECTATOR

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EVER SINCE I CAN REMEMBER, I've heard of Aubrey Williams as a New Deal official and leading Southern liberal. But the first time I knew him personally was in 1955 when my husband was in prison. That was before our case in Louisville became a minor cause celebre; many old acquaintances were afraid of us, and we were feeling pretty much alone.

Although Aubrey and we had mutual friends, he really knew little about us. But he heard we were being pushed around because of our belief in integration, and he heard that our case was unpopular and dangerous because we had the "communist" label. He offered his friendship and support.

Wherever a person is being persecuted for his belief in human rights, wherever there's an underdog, wherever there's nothing to gain and everything to lose by supporting a man in trouble, wherever there's a cause for justice that has not yet won popular support—there you are likely to find Aubrey.

THUS, IT IS IN CHARACTER that Aubrey will be in New York June 9 to speak in behalf of Willard Uphaus.

It is fitting, too, that he is speaking under the auspices of the Religious Freedom Committee. This committee maintains that religious freedom means not just a citizen's right to attend the church of his choice or no church, but his right to act on his religious beliefs in the arena of social problems. One of the wellsprings of Aubrey's character is that kind of religion.

AUBREY WILLIAMS
He finds the good causes

A native Alabaman, Aubrey grew up in Birmingham. Like many Southern families, his had lost everything in the Civil War, and Aubrey learned early the meaning of Southern poverty. He went to work when he was 7 to help support his family. Although he read widely, he had little formal education until he was 14.

By that time, he had become absorbed in church work and its teaching of the brotherhood of man. He studied for the Presbyterian ministry. But his interest was in bringing the "Kingdom of God" on this earth—what is commonly known as the Social Gospel. He soon found that the church of that day—it was just after World War I—did not offer what he wanted, and he left the ministry to go into social work.

Social work too disappointed him; his pride rebelled at the charity aspect of it. He was elated when he was called to Washington in the early days of the Roosevelt Administration. He saw the New Deal as a great new promise that would give men economic security and still preserve their dignity.

CHARACTERISTICALLY, as head of the National Youth Administration, he joined forces with the most oppressed group. He insisted on equal opportunity—and equal pay—for Negro youth, and thus earned the hatred of Southern congressmen. They finally succeeded in driving him out of Washington.

He returned to Alabama to publish **The Southern Farm & Home.** This was just after World War II, there was still some liberalism in the air, and Aubrey still had great political prestige. By all normal odds, he should have been governor of Alabama some day.

But as rising Negro demands for freedom carried the South toward a new crisis, Aubrey couldn't act like an ordinary politician, hopping on bandwagons or remaining discreetly silent. Many erstwhile Southern liberals ran for cover. As an individual and as president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Aubrey's cry for racial justice just became stronger. Today, he couldn't be elected dog-catcher in Alabama.

I'M NOT SURE, though, that Aubrey would ever win a popular election anywhere. Not that he isn't a likeable man. He has all the better qualities of a politician—warmth and love for people, an interest in whatever interests his neighbor, a tremendous relish for a funny story. In fact, Aubrey's continuing ability to laugh—despite the threats and ostracism which are part of his daily life in Montgomery—is not the least of his virtues.

But I think Aubrey has some native aversion to popular causes. He'll never be around to pick up his share of the glory when, in the words of James Russell Lowell, "the multitude make virtue of the faith they denied" and "'tis prosperous to be just." Instead he'll be off fighting for Truth on some other new frontier where "we share her wretched crust."

Some people may think this is a weakness. It may mean that Aubrey won't follow through on some of the battles he begins. But to me, he is living affirmation of the fact that, although new tyrants may replace old ones, the human race can always be counted on to produce individuals ready to take up the cudgels for the underdog.

—Anne Braden